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pletely, as it would be a recognition of the right of merchantmen to arm for defence.

To release the prisoners as a favor to the United States, but reserving the principle.

A flat refusal, of course, would bring the country to the verge of war. The first concern of the government is for the release of the men.

Germany Has Loophole

The middle course of releasing the men, but reserving the principle, while it would allay the irritation here somewhat, would nullify the German submarine pledges by restricting them to unarmed vessels. It would make President Wilson's "diplomatic victory," by which he kept the nation out of war, practically meaningless, as many of the belligerent merchantmen are now armed.

The announcement to-day that British transatlantic traders would hereafter be equipped with gun towers at Halifax, with six-inch guns mounted, and that some of them would bear guns forward, as well as aft, raised a question in the minds of many observers here.

From the State Department's point of view, however, as made known in its published declarations, whether a gun is mounted forward or aft, or whether of six-inch calibre or sixteen, does not bear on the question of its right to legal warning and visit on the high seas. The mere fact that a merchant ship is so armed as to be a potential warship is not enough to warrant an enemy in attacking her as a warship.

It is true that the United States has taken a stricter view with regard to vessels entering and leaving its ports. It has established certain rules of evidence as to the intentions, peaceful or warlike, of armed ships. But it has made it clear that a neutral nation, deciding on the right of an armed ship to clear from its ports, has to be guided by presumption in the absence of facts, while a belligerent warship, submarine on surface, meeting an armed merchantman on the high seas, must be guided entirely by facts and not at all by presumption.

Neutral Responsibility

A neutral is entitled to make its own rules about the clearance of armed ships from its ports, and it cannot afford to permit potential warships to go out, because if they should, on reaching

the high seas, engage in offensive operations the neutral would be liable for damages for having permitted them to sail equipped for such operations.

Therefore, the State Department has adopted a general rule that no ship armed forward, and no ship carrying a gun larger than six inches, shall sail from American ports. This is only a general rule, and exceptions may be made in individual cases if the department is convinced that no offensive operations are contemplated. But these rules do not apply in any sense to the rights of merchantmen on the high seas, where submarines and other war craft must judge their prey solely by the facts as to whether it is acting offensively.

BRITISH REPORT VICTORY OVER TURKS ON TIGRIS

Say Troops Cleared Ottoman Trenches for Mile and a Half

London, Jan. 21.—The British forces in Mesopotamia have won a substantial victory over the Turks on the Tigris, according to the War Office. Assaulting the enemy in the bend of the river northeast of Kut-el-Amara, the British cleared an entire trench system on a front of a mile and a half and to a depth of 1,100 yards. The right bank of the Tigris from Kut downstream for a considerable distance was captured from the enemy and progress was made against the trenches southwest of Kut.

While admitting the ferocity of the latest British attacks in this region, the Turkish War Office asserts that three assaults delivered against the Ottoman positions east of Kut were beaten off with severe losses to the British.

Turkish cavalrymen are reported to have made successful raids on enemy columns and to have captured three hostile machine guns and shot down a British airplane.

Weather Halts Bobsled Races

(By Telegram to The Tribune)

Huntington, Long Island, Jan. 21.—The annual bobsled races, which were to have begun here to-morrow, have been postponed because of the unfavourable of the track. If the temperature drops to-night the race committee hopes to the course ready by the middle of the week.

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CONGRESS AIMS BLOW AT WILSON AS PEACE AGENT

Rumblings Indicate Belief He Is "Out" as an Arbitrator

ROOSEVELT ATTACKS WORLD LEAGUE AGAIN

Taft Organization Only to Enforce Delay, Colonel Writes Borah

(From The Tribune Bureau)

Washington, Jan. 21.—Rumblings are heard in both houses of Congress which bode no good to President Wilson's peace plans in so far as they include the slightest assumption of responsibility on the part of the United States to keep the peace in Europe.

Mr. Wilson's failure in the role of peace angel and President of humanity is admitted even by those disposed to be his friends. In diplomatic circles and among neutrals and belligerents the belief is that the President has eliminated himself as a possible arbitrator. He accomplished this by his initial blunder in sending his peace note at the time he did, making it clear to the world, despite protestations, that he sought to reinforce the German peace move.

Subsequent blunders, including the statements from the Secretary of State, made it appear that the government was in terror of breaking off relations with Germany, and feared "the verge of war" was at hand unless the German note was accepted.

The German note in reply to Mr. Wilson, in which the imperial government disclaimed to state terms, and the note of the Allies' reply, in which they insisted on the door to peace, demonstrated to all that the President could proceed no longer on that course.

Peace League Is New Hope

The idea of a world league to enforce peace, contained in Mr. Wilson's first note, which the Germans curtly referred to as something of a "peace league," has been revived by the recent note of Mr. Balfour gave encouragement to, and gave the American League to Enforce Peace supports through former President Taft, and being signed upon eagerly by friends of the Administration, as giving opportunity for another peace move.

The Germans are eager to keep the idea of peace alive. The peace which they started more than a month ago needs constant support. Such support, when it comes from a neutral, is doubly valuable. The American people do not yet realize—certainly the diplomatic representatives of the Allies in Washington do not—what a desperate effort is now being made to shift American sentiment to the side of the Germans. The Germans here are encouraging in every possible way to facts to induce President Wilson to act again. A League to Enforce Peace is impossible to the German mind, but if it can be used to help on the German peace drive so much the better.

The rumblings in Congress are only against that part of the President's peace plans which would commit this government to entangling or disengaging alliance. Harsh names are hurled at this sentiment, which is called "little Americanism" and "national selfishness."

Cling to Isolation Idea

The important thing to keep in mind is that it is the sentiment not only of Congress but of the people who elect the Representatives. The policy of isolation advocated by George Washington and to the Monroe Doctrine. So far in Congress only Senator Borah, of Idaho, and Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, have touched the subject. President Borah's speech was halted in mid-career by the surrender of the majority and the radical amendment of the resolution approving the President's peace note.

On this subject the following letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Senator Borah was made public here to-night:

"I notice in 'The New York Sun' a letter from Mr. Hamilton Holt, vice-chairman of the League to Enforce Peace, in which he refers to some recent remarks both by you and myself.

"Mr. Holt takes exception to your recent statement in the Senate. Your statement was absolutely justified, but it did not go nearly far enough. Mr. Holt also attempts to controvert my statement. I desired, in protesting against the action of the various gentlemen, including President Wilson, who are advocating a League to Enforce Peace, to assail them in their strongest position. Therefore I took the public speeches and addresses of these prominent men who have advocated the formation of such a league, for their speeches and addresses have been read by thousands of citizens for every single citizen who has read the resolutions drawn up by the body to which Mr. Holt belongs.

"As he objects to my not having discussed these particular resolutions, however, I gladly do so, and I point out that you were far too lenient in your statement of the matter.

Deceptive Title Assailed

"Mr. Holt points out, apparently as a matter of pride, that the League to Enforce Peace has deliberately chosen a deceptive title, and that it has no more idea of enforcing peace than it has of enforcing righteousness, but only to use his own words, intends to 'enforce delay.' The League does not propose to concern itself with the righteousness or unrighteousness of any action; it simply proposes that when wrong has been done the wrong-doing nation and the wronged nation shall be forced to bring the case before some outside council and that the League shall go to war against whichever refuses to take this action.

"Now, there are certain wrongs which no nation ought for one moment to discuss before taking action, and it is profoundly immoral for would-be philanthropists to decline to pass judgment in such cases on the wrong and merely propose to take action against the nation which itself acts; for of course it is likely that in such a case it is the wronged nation which will act.

"Let me give a concrete case. If Germany should sink another Lusitania, or Mexico commit another massacre like that at Carrizal, and if the United States in such case deemed it her duty to take immediate action (as I for one would certainly advocate), the proposal of Mr. Holt and his associates is that the League to Enforce Peace should declare war, not against the wrong doer, but against the wronged party. A more preposterous absurdity, a more wicked absurdity, could hardly be devised.

"Mr. Holt admits that the title, 'League to Enforce Peace,' is a flagrant misstatement of the purposes of the league. He says that it is only a league to enforce delay. But it is much worse than this. It is a league in the interest of wrong doers, a league

which expressly waves aside all consideration of justice and righteousness and proposes to make war on any deeply wronged and high spirited nation which acts immediately against the transgressor.

Proposal Called Silly

"The proposal is too silly to work very much mischief, for in practice no nation would be so base as to carry it out. But it is a thoroughly immoral thing to ask the United States to make promises which it would be disgraceful to keep, and which, moreover, the nation, while composed of self-respecting men, could not keep and would not have the slightest intention of keeping. This is what the League to Enforce Peace, as interpreted by Mr. Holt, is now doing. He and his associates have adopted the proposal of Mr. Bryan's peace commission treaties, which likewise provided for talking over before outsiders all wrongs, including those to which no self-respecting nation would for one moment submit.

"But Mr. Holt and his associates stand on a lower level than Mr. Bryan, for at least Mr. Bryan did not propose to go to war in the interest of the wrongers, against those wronged nations which instantly resented the wrongs.

"The position of Mr. Holt and his associates in these international proposals is precisely like that of an individual who in a private life should demand that, if a ruffian slapped the face of a decent citizen's wife and if a decent citizen promptly knocked the ruffian down, the Peace League should, in the interest of the people, attack the man who objected to having his wife's face slapped."

Wilson's Next Move Awaited

What Mr. Wilson will do is a matter of pure speculation. The probabilities are that he leans strongly toward a peace league plan and possibly a conference to bring it about before the end of the war, a conference to which all belligerents would be invited, but he has not yet made up his mind.

Hints are being industriously circulated, apparently with an idea of enabling the President, to use his own phrase, "to make soundings" of American sentiment, that Mr. Wilson contemplates an appeal to the people to break from the traditional policy of isolation.

CZAR DEMANDS UNITED ACTION

Continued from page 1

tions, is so important and so complicated.

"Accordingly, I call upon the government, united in your person, to devote its attention first and foremost to the provisioning of my valiant armies and behind the firing line, lessening the difficulties of my troops with supplies, available in a world war. I count upon it that the joint labors of the whole government will be concentrated in a realization on a large scale and the development of the measures recently taken toward this end.

"The question of provisioning the armies and the civil population demands the combined action, not only of all the authorities at the front and in the rear, but also of all the different departments united under the control of the Council of Ministers.

Urges Better Transportation

"Another problem to which I attach supreme importance is the further improvement of transport, railway and waterway. The Council of Ministers should in this connection work out definite measures which will assure the full utilization of the means of transport, in order to be able, through the cooperation of all departments, to furnish our troops on the firing line and arm them with all that they require.

"In pointing out these pressing problems for your attention I express the hope that the activity of the Council of Ministers under your presidency gathering places the support of the Council of the Empire and the Duma, in a unanimous, ardent desire to carry on the war to a victorious completion. It is, furthermore, the duty of a person called upon to direct a state to act with good will, uprightness and dignity toward the legislative institutions.

"In its coming activity in organizing the economic life of the country, the government will find invaluable support in the Zemstvos, which by their work in time of peace and of war have proved that they piously maintain the traditions of my grandfather, of imperishable memory, Emperor Alexander II."

Brussiloff Prophecies

Foe's Rout Within Year

Petrograd, Jan. 22.—The "Rusky Slovo" says that General Brussiloff, commander in chief of the Russian armies of the southwestern front, addressing his staff officers, said:

"Information at my disposal and my personal conviction warrant me in saying that I am as certain as an event that I am standing before you that during the coming year the enemy will be completely routed."

ENGLAND DEMANDS CARGO SHIPS FROM BUILDERS

Work on Liners Halted Owing to Destruction of Freight Carriers

London, Jan. 22.—"The Times" to-day says it understands that instructions have been given to several shipyards to cease work now in progress on high class liners and divert the labor to the building of plain cargo ships.

"If the daily toll of losses teaches one lesson," says "The Times," in approving the decision, "clearly it is that the need of new cargo ships is very great. When the shipbuilding of the country is properly mobilized, as it is now being organized, the new production within a few months should be absolutely irrefragable; but this result will not be achieved without immense effort and some interference with private plans."

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RUSSIAN PEOPLE CRYING FOR PEACE

Instructor, Here, Says Censorship Keeps Clamors from World

TELLS OF WILD DUMA DEBATES

Food Sent by Allies Not Reaching Destination, He Explains

"The Russian people are clamoring for peace. They are demanding that if it does not come soon they will depose the government leaders who are at present carrying on the war," said Ivan Chazal, a young Russian student and instructor of economics at the Royal University of Petrograd, who arrived on the Bergensfjord, from Bergen, yesterday.

Chazal, who is about twenty-five, is slight, with the appearance of a boy. His pale cheeks and deep-set eyes are eloquent testimony of his own suffering.

"I have come to tell the American people how desirous the people of Russia are for peace. Whether it be a separate peace is of small importance. The Duma is daily the scene of the wildest debates regarding this all-important topic, although nothing is allowed to leave the country, owing to the despotic military censorship.

Many Ships Sunk

"I have been told that neutrals are given to understand that Russia is being supplied by her Allies. Such is not the case. Both England and France have sent large cargoes of food and munitions to Russia, but I do not hesitate to say that many of these ships were sunk and never arrived at their destination, because armed convoys did not accompany them.

"If the people of Russia do not rise in revolt against the government before the end of the war I fully believe that they will rise afterward, as they are at last awake, and military clique governed by a despotic and military clique whose only thought is for personal gain.

"Before the war the people previously were filled with vodka and similar drinks, and were too dull to take an interest in their government or to demand that they had enough to eat to demand that they had enough to drink. But now that our nation has adopted stringent prohibition laws the people have awakened, and are asking questions from their representatives and are demanding an answer from them.

"When the answer is not satisfactory they go higher up, and various civic bodies have demanded replies from the various Cabinet ministers. And what is more important, they have obtained an answer. How long these questions may be answered without definite action is a question for conjecture, but I feel sure that my people will soon become weary of words and demand actions.

People Closer Now

"The war in one way has been a great benefit to the population, as it has brought the people in much closer contact than they were. The munition factories, he explained, as well as the great centres of mobilization, had been gathering places for mutual exchange of opinions. In many munition works little clubs have been formed around certain leading spirits, who have had the advantage of education, and are now instructing the people in their civic rights. Previously to believe that any Russian laborer possessed any legal rights, other than those guaranteed to him by his employer, was humorous.

"Another question which will soon have to be solved," he continued, "is what the workman is going to do after the war. Before it began he was fortunate if he made 20 to 25 cents a day, but with the present necessity for all kinds of war work the skilled laboring man is making from \$3 to \$4 a day. Is it reasonable to suppose that that man is going to return to his former wage, and pay an equal amount for his food as he does at present?

"Word has gone forth that many reactionaries have been elected to the Duma or appointed to the upper circle. You must not forget that names mean nothing in Russia, and what a man personally believes has nothing to do with the way he votes on any question. He votes the way the 'higher power' instructs him, knowing that to refuse means Siberia."

BRITISH WIN IN RAID

London Announces Capture of Prisoners in Enterprise Near Loos

London, Jan. 21.—British troops carried out a successful daylight raid on the enemy's trenches southeast of Loos this morning, capturing 200 prisoners, inflicting heavy casualties and returning with prisoners. North of Neuve Chapelle British raiders also penetrated the German lines and inflicted damage.

Minor attacks were delivered yesterday by the French on the Verdun front and by the Germans on the Oise. The French assault took the enemy by surprise in the region of Senones, but attained no marked success.

The German attack, in the region of Lassigny, was repulsed with losses. German troops on the march near Mons St. Quentin, on the Somme, were dispersed by the fire of French batteries. Elsewhere there were only artillery engagements and patrol encounters.

CHARGES FRANCE COVETS SYRIA

Turkey's Reply to Entente's Peace Rebuff Explains Presence in War

Berlin, Jan. 21 (by wireless to Sayville).—A summary of the note handed by the Turkish government to neutrals in relation to the Entente answer to the peace proposals was given out to-day by the Overseas News Agency, as follows:

"The note points out that the Central Powers, especially Turkey, not desiring Entente territory, had no reason whatever to begin the war. The Entente, however, as a matter of common knowledge, the note continues, covets territory of the Central Powers. Thus, it continues, France wishes Syria and Alsace-Lorraine, Italy desires the southwestern Austrian provinces, Russia wants Constantinople and the Straits and a large part of Anatolia, and England wants Mesopotamia and Arabia.

"Equally known, the note adds, are the intrigues of the Entente conducted in an effort to hamper Turkey's evolution and realize the plan for the partition of Turkey, in spite of the principle of nationalities, which, as a matter of fact, is a subject of indifference to the Entente immediately its own interests are at stake.

"The proclamation of a British protectorate over Egypt, where the population is alien to the English race; the annexation of Cyprus, where there were no English; the occupation of Tripoli by the Italians, where the Italians were simply intruders; the vision of a dream to give to Russia Constantinople and the Marmora Basin, where an overwhelming majority of the population is Turkish and Mahometan—all of these are pointed to as violations of the principle of nationality.

"Turkey, says the note, thus was obliged to take up arms for the defence of territorial integrity, liberty and independence, and she is now persuaded that this object has been attained, the hostile powers being at this time as far from the realization of their plans as ever. For this very reason, it is concluded, they nervously decline the sincere proposition of the Central Powers, and deliberately take upon themselves the responsibility for the continuation of bloodshed."

GERMAN BAN STIRS SWISS

News of Prohibition of All Imports Causes Excitement in Republic

Berne, Jan. 21.—The German measure prohibiting all imports, news of which was received here unexpectedly, caused considerable excitement throughout Switzerland. The government's sincere remonstrance to Berlin, as the entire economic situation of the country is affected by this species of blockade.

A Berlin dispatch by way of London,

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